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The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

WHY BRITAIN MUST RENOUNCE THE BOMB

—Professor Coulson

WE ought to stop any manufacture, any testing and the remotest possibility of using these things," Professor C. A. Coulson, Rouse Ball Professor of Mathematics, told a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament meeting in Oxford last week.

Addressing an audience which included local councillors, representatives of churches, community associations and undergraduates, he said of H-bomb tests that recent inquiries by the Medical Research Council and by an American Senate Commission had agreed that certain parts of the earth were becoming "uncomfortably hot."

"It seems that quite a considerable belt in the Northern Hemisphere suffers much worse than the rest of the world," he said. A figure had been generally agreed upon for the minimum permissible dose, and it looked as if this amount would soon be reached.

"If the bombs continue to be dropped at this rate, in ten years' time we shall have a situation that really is serious," said Prof. Coulson.

Renunciation

People in Britain had a peculiar responsibility as they were neither a great power nor a small one. They were on the intermediate scale where the most influence could be exerted.

"Moreover, we have shown that we can make these things," he said. "A renunciation on the part of someone who can make them is worth a great deal."

Several constructive things could come out of the rejection of nuclear weapons.

Our sincerity would be shown much more effectively than by a set speech at a conference. More than any other action, such a renunciation would free the world from fear.

"If this generation does not make up its mind then future generations, if they exist

★ ON BACK PAGE

Why not a British expedition?

—MICHAEL SCOTT

TO THE EDITOR

LIKE many others, I have been very interested in news of the expedition to the Pacific of the ketch "Golden Rule" in an effort to stop the next American H-bomb test. Should not similar expeditions be organised to our own testing grounds in Australia and also to the Soviet Union? Those who were interested in the series of articles "A Decade Without Gandhi," arranged by you and the Hindustan Times would, I feel sure, like to know whether such a suggestion would meet with any response in this country and in India.—(Rev.) MICHAEL SCOTT, London, S.W.

The ketch 'Golden Rule' sails for Eniwetok

FOUR MEN IN BID TO STOP U.S. H-TEST

A SMALL sailing vessel put out from the shore of California on Monday carrying four men and the hopes of millions of people throughout the world. It left without incident, Peace News was cabled.

The four intend to sail to Eniwetok, in the Pacific Ocean area where America is to carry out H-bomb tests in April.

"They are the focus of the spirit of mankind which is awakening from its stupor of fear and surrender to fate," said a spokesman for Non-violent Action Against Nuclear War, the American group sponsoring the venture.

"These men are willing to gamble their lives on the reality of an intangible—the presence of the spirit of good at the heart of creation and, therefore, at the heart of men. If they are right in their premise, then their action against the nuclear tests at Eniwetok may not be such an uneven match as some would suppose."

The crew of the ketch, Golden Rule, are:

Albert Bigelow, former US naval commander, painter and architect. Now a Quaker and pacifist he is married to Sylvia Weld, Broadway actress, and has two daughters and four grandchildren.

William Huntington, Architect, Quaker, age 51, conscientious objector during World War II. Said on joining Non-violent Action last year:

"Eliminating nuclear warfare is the most important practical issue in the world. I do what I do because it is the way I feel about it. My feeling is not the most important thing in the world . . . it may be all wrong . . . but it is the best I have. If anyone else in the world will do above all else what he thinks is right about this most important issue, then it shall be properly met. I hope I am part of this process."

George Willoughby, Director of the American Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors. A Quaker and former secretary of the American Friends Service Committee in Des Moines. Married, with four children. He is Chairman of Non-violent Action.

David Gale is the fourth member of the crew.

On Sunday, the day before the sailing, people in Los Angeles were invited to gather at the dock at 3 p.m. for a meeting.

Backed by nation-wide campaign

Lawrence Scott of Non-violent Action writes:

The voyage to Eniwetok is only the focus of many activities of awakening citizens in the United States. It is the logical follow-up of actions begun last Spring, Summer and Fall. Most of the peace organisations are focusing their programme on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests—some are asking that the United States take unilateral action, others are asking for a negotiated agreement with the Soviet Union.

The American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters League, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and other organisations are joined in a co-ordinated programme against nuclear tests under the Consultative Peace Council. Charles Walker, an FoR Staff member on special assignment, is working full time on this effort which asks for unilateral cessation of tests on the part of the United States or any other country engaged in tests.

In addition, each of the above organisations and many others carry the emphasis of nuclear test cessation along with their broader programme for disarmament and constructive change.

The Challenge of the H-bomb

THERE IS NO ANSWER to the H-bomb within the framework of reliance upon war.

WHAT IS NEEDED is a strong public opinion, based not upon fear of the consequences of using the bomb, but upon a conscientious objection to its use.

SUCH AN OBJECTION must, inevitably, declare against war itself.

THE ALTERNATIVE to total war must be total peace.

THE BRITISH ANSWER must be total disarmament by example.

This is the concluding portion of a new leaflet issued this week by the Peace Pledge Union and available free for distribution from 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy was organized last Fall, after preliminary meetings in June and July. It has inserted full page advertisements in newspapers and done other things of a broad educational character, in which they call for a negotiated agreement with the Soviet Union for cessation of tests. Other groups such as the United World Federalists, Parent Teachers Association, Councils of Churches and scientific organisations have shown an increasing concern for the problem of nuclear tests.

Individuals who speak out

In addition to the three level (not a judgment as to which is high and which is low) organised campaign noted above there have been increasing numbers of individuals who speak out against the madness of the arms race.

General Omar Bradley says we have "defiled our minds" by putting our scientific knowledge into weapons of mass slaughter.

Lewis Mumford has come out for unilateral disarmament as a safer way than the way we are now going, and the only moral way.

Walter Millis, an authority on military history wrote in the New York Times Magazine for Feb. 2:

"Any society which pins its hope of survival upon its technical ability to massacre scores of millions of the enemy's innocent noncombatants, which is at the same time reckless of its responsibility for poisoning, in the name of self defence, the atmosphere and food bearing soil of the whole earth, has accepted a moral degradation which denies it any title to freedom within itself."

Many others could be cited.

Hence, whether by sailing ships into the testing area or by courageous public stands, many men and women in America are awakening to the moral dilemma and danger to life in which our involvement in the cold war has placed us. We have yet to solve the problem of how we can persuade the people of lands where there is less freedom of individual expression to take risks of criticising their country's participation in the cold war.

In a subsequent article for Peace News I hope to discuss the opposition to nuclear weapons testing in the international context of the cold war and the long-range hopes of men for peace and freedom.

The first of a new series of articles
by **WILFRED WELLOCK**

A REALISTIC PEACE POLICY

1. Introduction: The long trek to the Nuclear Missile

IN the history of nations and of civilisations there come times when it is necessary to re-examine their foundations, the principles and values by which they function, and to make changes and adjustments of cardinal importance. This is true of movements also, including the pacifist movement.

We are in one of these periods now.

A few years ago the issue in every crisis was: Peace or War? Now it is: Survival or Extinction?

The last decade has witnessed one of the greatest—and perhaps the most rapid—transformations in social and international outlook that have occurred since the human mind began its search for the secrets of the universe which envelops it.

One cannot believe that humanity has ever faced bigger problems than those arising from the knowledge that the smallest thing in creation, the atom, has locked up within it a concentration of power capable of extinguishing all life on this planet, and can be set in motion by pressing a button.

Social ethics assume new importance

THE most urgent of these problems arises from the fact that highly developed human brains, if unguided and undirected by a deep understanding of the meaning and purpose of human life, could speedily wipe out entire civilisations.

When the fate of millions may depend upon a decision of two or three distracted, fear-ridden minds, social behaviour and social ethics assume a new importance.

It is of the highest significance for our time that the immediate effect of the discovery of nuclear power was to direct the minds of the Big Powers to its destructive uses.

Its constructive and socially beneficial uses took second place, thus proving that in our civilisation fear is more powerful than faith, and that the things which belong to life, its increase, its joy, and its spiritual triumphs, are less significant than the things which belong to power and material advancement.

This situation calls for serious reflection: It is the last halt before the final precipice in the bleak trek of the Industrial Revolution.

Awaiting the creative impulse

FOUR years ago I wrote: "A new creative era lies within our reach, but there is no certainty that it will come to birth. Our genius has run to quantitative production and consumption, and to power in order to ensure them. Our lordship is over death and destruction, not over life. We have inaugurated the era of world prosperity and world wars, and developed the means of world destruction; yet we lack the power to save ourselves from that fate, which may be nearer than we dream. Is vision, then, to fail? That is the only questions that now matters."

Human life on this planet tends to run in cycles. First there is a creative period which, be it long or short, eventually exhausts itself, then a decline sets in and

continues until some new inspiration inaugurates a new creative era.

If creative ideas are not forthcoming, civilisation will run down and possibly out. Hence it is the running-down periods in a nation's history that are the most crucial.

Western civilisation is in one of those declines to-day, and the ultimate outcome is far from certain.

Last phase of the Industrial Revolution

WHAT we are now witnessing is the closing phase of the Industrial Revolution, which was bound to be turbulent and catastrophic, since from the beginning it has been mainly motivated by the love of gain, of great riches, power and social status. It is thus basically materialistic.

Its toll of human misery and social devastation produced innumerable revolts and alternative systems, including Trades Unions, the Co-operative Movement, Chartism, Socialism and Communism, with the aim of recovering many lost spiritual values. Reform came eventually, but justice was slow-footed, whence class antagonisms grew apace.

Later, after machine production had spread to many countries, competition for markets, food and raw materials led to the emergence of rival military systems and to the glorification of military power, which paved the way to the era of total world war.

Then two world wars revealed how completely Western industrialised civilisation rested on power, which at root was machine and money power. As a result of the play of that power many nations which formerly had been counted great, now became second, third and even fourth-rate Powers, including Britain, France and Germany—victors and vanquished in the last war.

Only two Powers are now called Great, the USA and Russia, and their greatness is measured by their power to destroy man and all his works. They are the Dinosaurs of the nuclear age.

The consummation of materialism

TO-DAY we are experiencing the first effects of the democratisation of capitalist abundance and capitalist materialism.

Mr. Dulles has charged Soviet Russia with the "materialism of atheism," which entitles Russia to charge America with the materialism of religion. For the United States has lost her balance. This I attribute to the materialism she has allowed to overtake her during the last few decades. Worse still, Christianity has become identified with the American way of life.

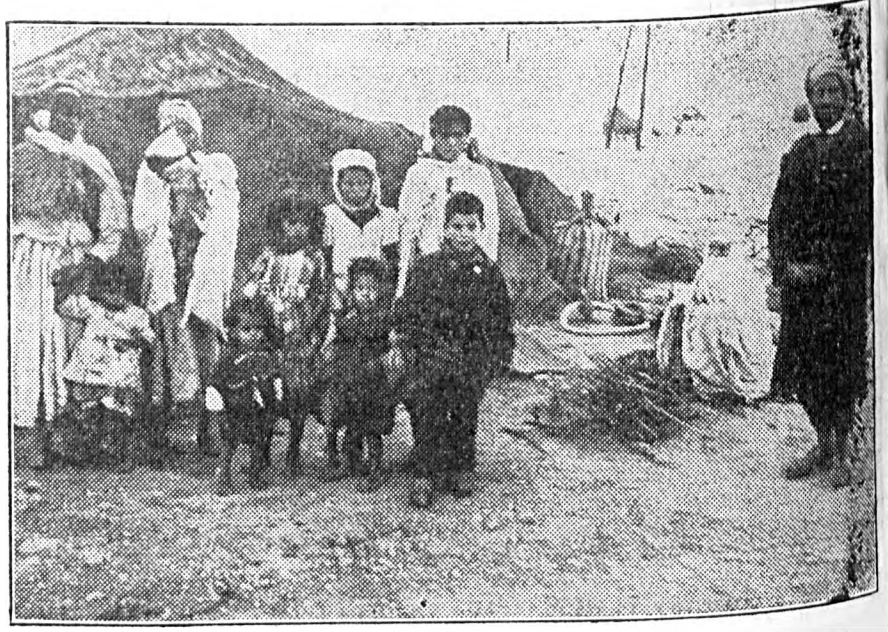
Materialism and the economic man are part of our heritage from capitalist industrialism, and both, unfortunately, have been taken over by Socialism and Communism. In our age, men are materialists first and religious afterwards.

Consequently the getting and spending of money has become the be-all and end-all of existence. Need we wonder, then, that innumerable insoluble social and economic problems are now emerging, that social responsibility is waning and the value of human life falling?

In the international sphere also bigger problems now loom than we have ever known. We cannot see far ahead. We stick at 1984, but worse lies beyond unless we change our course.

And so, after a trek of 170 years, marked by endless suffering and social conflict and two world wars, we come to nuclear missiles—and the precipice. Where, then, lies hope? It lies in vision-inspired action, in the triumph of a higher principle, of faith over fear.

But what nation in the existing spiritual wilderness is capable of such action? Britain? Well, why not?



Algerian refugees outside their tent near Oujda, Morocco.

The Algerian refugees in Morocco

By Commander THOMAS FOX-PITT

who recently investigated the plight of Algerian refugees in Morocco.

THE Secretary of the Algerian

Red Crescent insisted on pointing out to me the fine qualities of the refugees I met in Morocco. "They are poor but they are dignified. Please to note their dignity. They are patient. No one can defeat a people so patient. You will have noticed their patience?"

It annoyed me to be pestered to admire what was pathetically admirable in these wretched people and not to cry out—

"But they are miserable. Their children are starving. They have been driven out of their homes. They have lost husbands and wives and sons and daughters. They have no right to be patient.

"Their is nothing dignified in starvation and death. How dare you gloat over the patience of despair?"

It was their misery, their thin limbs and swollen stomachs, their filthy shanties—and their thin rags in the cold wind—that I noted. They were poor creatures in desperate want. Patience and dignity were out of place. Only endurance mattered.

Those who urge others on to endure the hardships of war must give them some glint of glory or saintliness for their own encouragement.

Oh! it is fine, fine to be patient and dignified. It redeems the sufferings. It ennobles the hunger and the heartbreak and the war can drag on through another winter and into another spring.

For the 50,000 Algerian refugees along the frontier of Morocco the ration that had been enough to sustain life, while the International Red Cross had funds to buy grain and oil and milk, was down to half a pound of hard unleavened barley bread a day with some powdered "non-fat" milk for the children as long as a 4 lb. tin lasted in the family.

The community of Algerians who had work or savings in Morocco could afford this and no more. They were poor themselves and refugees themselves.

This pittance of nourishment was served out fairly. Fairly by the standards of war. "The wounded men have a little more. They have suffered for Algeria and we are grateful to them."

It is right to be grateful to a wounded fighter, but right too to be grateful to the mother who could no longer feed her baby and felt it grow daily weaker at her breast. But by the standards of war the wounded men won the higher ration and the baby died.

The refugees were Berber peasants who had farmed the hills of North Africa before the first recorded history. They are fairer skinned than most Southern Europeans. Fairer than the French who had driven

them from their farms to make along the border a forbidden land ten miles across where every moving thing was fired on.

To the French they are all enemies until they have proved themselves friends, and then only while they are under the gun sights—proved friend today and unknown enemy tomorrow, they say.

On this they act, and when a bomb bursts in a cafe or a sentry is shot at his post every man in sight is an enemy and can only be proved harmless when he is proved dead.

It was from these sudden raging reprisals in the narrow streets of the Algerian towns that others among the refugees had fled—the Arab townsmen and their veiled women.

They remained clustered along the frontier because they could go no further. A hundred miles of semi-desert land lay between them and the richer parts of Morocco and nothing awaited them there. There is unemployment in all the cities of Morocco and Moroccans come first when jobs are offered, not the Algerians. There was hunger everywhere and no return.

There is a chance now that they will live through the winter. The International Red Cross team is back with money given in response to its appeal, and while the money lasts, while you can make it last, there will be a spartan ration, enough to keep life in a human body.*

Bring the war in Algeria to an end with sense and pity and a realisation of its criminal folly. Dignity and patience do not redeem war from beastliness, cruelty and wanton wickedness.

*All contributions through the Red Cross for this purpose should be CLEARLY MARKED "For Algerian refugee relief."—Ed.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another" This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE 6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

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Peacemaking in the atomic age

400 HEAR STUART MORRIS

From a Correspondent

ABOUT 400 people heard Stuart Morris give a challenging address on the subject "Peacemaking in the Atomic Age" when he spoke at a meeting at Aberystwyth, on January 28.

Present in the audience were a large number of students of the University and of the Theological College, whom Stuart Morris had met in a discussion group during the afternoon.

Messages of good will were received at the meeting from Roderick Bowen, the Liberal MP for Cardiganshire, from the prospective Labour candidate Mrs. Rees Hughes and from Dr. Gareth Evans, University of Swansea and prospective candidate for Plaid Cymru (Welsh Party).

The film "The Shadow of Hiroshima" was shown, at the close of the meeting Peace News was sold and many signatures for a petition calling for the end of the use of nuclear energy for war purposes, were secured.

The meeting was arranged by the local branches of the Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. A follow-up discussion meeting is to be held.

Hostelling holidays

PERSONS interested in youth hostelling have nearly 300 hostels in England and Wales at their disposal, as well as hostels in Scotland, Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, many countries of continental Europe and elsewhere.

Postal inquiries about hostelling in England and Wales may be addressed to: Youth Hostels Association, Trevelyan House, St. Albans, Herts.

Those interested in hostelling abroad, should inquire of: Y.H.A. Travel Bureau, 29 John Adam Street, London, W.C.2.

Personal callers may obtain information about hostelling both in England and Wales and abroad at the London address.

An investigation will be made of the interracial pacifist Koinonia Farm at Americus, Georgia, in the United States. Deep South, by the Georgia State Legislature, if a proposal for it is carried out, radio station WSB, Atlanta, reported.

WITH COMPLIMENTS

THE National Council of the Peace Pledge Union has paid you the compliment of raising the amount which it expects from the PPU Headquarters Fund this year from £1,150 to £1,200. That is partly because the Fund has got beyond £1,150 in 1956 and 1957, and partly because with rising costs we at PPU headquarters have to raise more money even to carry on what we are doing, let alone extend our activities.

Your generosity has inspired me with such confidence that I have no doubt that the PPU Headquarters Fund will reach and even surpass the amount set for it in 1958. Although that will mean continuous effort and, as I know full well, no little sacrifice on the part of many who contribute to the work of the PPU in this way, there is a measure of good fun and excitement in sharing in the thrill of doing what we set out to do.

Robert Louis Stevenson may have found it better "to travel hopefully than to arrive," but in our case there need be no such distinction. We shall arrive because we travel hopefully from month to month, and in January we have nearly raised one-twelfth of the total for the year—£91 to date. Who will make it the round £100? So that everything else sent in during February can be counted towards the "second mile."

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1958: £1,200.
Amount received to date: £91.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

CRITIC OF PORTUGUESE ANGOLA ON TRIAL

Peace News Reporter

THE trial of Captain Henrique Galvao opened on January 21 in the political court of Lisbon. When sent to Portuguese Angola in South-West Africa on an official investigating mission he reported in 1947 that conditions exist there in some ways worse than slavery.

Capt. Galvao is charged with "defamation of the President of the Republic, Prime Minister, . . . President of National Assembly and Army."

He is being tried with Dr. Filipe Mendes and two other liberals. The proceedings were declared secret and the public cleared from the court.

Capt. Galvao and Dr. Mendes have been held in prison since 1951. The former, 63, is seriously ill, being tried in his absence while held in Santa Maria hospital.

None of them has a defence lawyer and are instead being defended by persons appointed by the court.

Arrested

Capt. Galvao, formerly a supporter of Dr. Salazar, the Portuguese dictator, and a member of the National Assembly, fell into disgrace because of his critical 1947 report on Angola.

It was never published by the Portuguese Government, despite his repeated requests. In 1949, however, parts of it were printed by the underground opposition in Portugal. These have been included in Basil Davidson's book "Africa Awakening."

Dr. Mendes, 66-year-old lawyer, and the two other defendants, Dr. Abel Dias das Neves, a medical doctor, and Joao R. A. Lourenco, a former officer of the British Institute in Lisbon, are charged with collaborating with Capt. Galvao in divulging his writings on which the accusation is based.

In 1951 he supported the candidature of Admiral Meireles, the opposition candidate for the Presidency, soon after which he and many other liberals were arrested, being charged with "coup d'état." It seems this charge has now been dropped in favour of the new charge.

Worse than slavery

Basil Davidson in "Africa Awakening" refers to Capt. Galvao's report:

"After describing the methods of forced [labour] recruitment used by Government for its own purposes and for private employers, Galvao concludes that:

"In some ways the situation is worse than simple slavery. Under slavery, after all, the Native is bought as an animal; his owner prefers him to remain as fit as a horse or an ox. Yet here the Native is not bought—he is hired from the State, although he is called a free man. And his employer cares little as he sickens or dies, once he is working, because when he sickens or dies his employer will simply ask for another."

"High death rates among forced workers, he says, have never in his experience debarred an employer from being supplied with more men."

There is also persecution taking place in Portugal of people who took an active part

Statistics for pacifists

A SAMPLE poll of 27 new members of the Peace Pledge Union revealed how the 26 who answered had come to the position of taking the pledge "We renounce war and will never support or sanction another."

- 11 Reading Peace News.
- 9 Through friends.
- 2 Attending a meeting.
- 2 Reading leaflets.
- 1 Reading a poster.
- 1 Through looking in the Telephone Directory for the name of a peace organisation.

The funeral took place at Gloucester on January 13 of H. H. Furneaux Friend, widely known in the West of England for his work in the pacifist movement. Biology master at a Stroud school, he was at one time Boy Scout Commissioner for Schools in Southern Rhodesia.

in the November elections for the Portuguese National Assembly. This is being done to intimidate the liberals who intend to contest the Presidential elections in May.

Repeated raids by PIDE, the political police, have been made in private homes and printing firms. Arrests and tortures are reported.

Who's who in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Earl Russell is President and the following are members of the Executive:

THE REV. CANON L. JOHN COLLINS (Chairman). Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral, he is also Chairman of Christian Action, and has been actively concerned in the recent campaign to abolish capital punishment and the drive to raise funds for the South African Treason Trials Defence Fund. A member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

RITCHIE CALDER, CBE (Vice-Chairman). A Vice-President of the National Peace Council. Sponsor of the Labour Peace Fellowship and its predecessor, the Labour Pacifist Fellowship.

JAMES CAMERON. Popular and outspoken News-Chronicle columnist. Won widespread admiration when—with Tom Hopkinson—he resigned from Picture Post after that journal refused to publish his illustrated report on the Korean War.

HOWARD DAVIES. Hon. Treasurer of the United Nations Association.

MICHAEL FOOT. Editor and Managing Director of Tribune. Former Labour MP for Devonport.

ARTHUR GOSS. Chairman of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests, now merged with the Campaign. Quaker. Proprietor of the Hampstead and Highgate Express.

MRS. SHEILA JONES. Former secretary of the National Council against Nuclear Weapon Tests. Scientist. Wife of Prof. G. O. Jones.

KINGSLEY MARTIN. Editor of the New Statesman.

J. B. PRIESTLEY. Author and journalist.

PROF. J. ROTBLAT. Executive Vice-President of the Atomic Scientists' Association.

Organising secretary for the Campaign from their offices at 146, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4, is MRS. PEGGY DUFF, previously organiser of the Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment and of the "Save Europe Now" Campaign launched by Victor Gollancz and others at the end of World War II.

UP AND DOING

PN and the new campaign

NEXT Monday the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament launches its first big public meeting. Vast crowds are expected at Central Hall to hear speakers urge a new lead by Britain. Tickets for four halls are sold out—but latecomers may get in. Next week's Peace News will report the highlights of the meeting and the plans for a national campaign.

This may well be the beginning of a nation-wide revolt against the nuclear madness that threatens to destroy humanity.

Peace News readers will want to encourage these new moves towards sanity. They must succeed if humanity is to survive. Our task is to carry this movement on to see the logic and practical necessity of complete disarmament now.

Will you help us in these efforts? The feeling in the country offers tremendous new possibilities which we must seize with all our power.

Join the campaign by selling and distributing more copies every week. Let pacifism be in the vanguard. Order those extra Peace News right away. Send this coupon today.

MICHAEL RANDLE,
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NAME

ADDRESS

Hereford launches H-test petition

From a correspondent.

THE Hereford branch of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are to send a petition to their MP, Mr. David Gibson-Watt, MC, and also a similarly worded petition to Mr. Gaitskell, it was disclosed at a meeting and film show in the Greenland Hall, Hereford, on Sunday.

The petition to Mr. Gibson-Watt asks him "to call upon the Government to abandon the testing, production and development of these (nuclear) weapons and to spare no effort to obtain international agreement for the suspension of tests as a first step, to be followed by a ban on the production, stockpiling and development of nuclear weapons, and ultimately, by a comprehensive disarmament agreement."

The meeting was well attended by a large mixed audience of both young and old.

The evening's proceedings were completed by the showing of the extremely moving film, "The Shadow of Hiroshima."

You saw it first in Peace News . . .



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Nasser, King Hussein back

PLAN TO UNITE ARAB STATES

Exclusive to PEACE NEWS
From BRIJEN K. GUPTA

SUEZ: THE 2nd WEEK AT UN

Bargaining behind the scenes

By ROY SHENWOOD

I HAVE just spent over two months talking to the leaders of the centre and the left in the Arab countries: Choukri and Sarraj in Iraq, Nasser and Mubarak in Lebanon, Nehru and Jinnah in India, Arafat, Hussein and King in Syria. In my conversations with them they have gradually told me that a union of Syria with Egypt is a matter of only a few months, and that Jordan would follow suit soon, in spite of the British intrigues in the Palace in Amman.

The Union of Egypt and Syria on February 2 to form a United Arab Republic was forecast 14 months earlier in an exclusive Peace News article by Brijen Gupta, published on Oct. 12, 1956, together with the full text of the draft constitution of the proposed Arab Federation.

Mr. Gupta wrote that during two months in the Arab countries he was told by political leaders "that a union of Syria with Egypt is a matter of a few months, and that Jordan would follow suit soon, in spite of British intrigues . . ."

The constitution of the new United Arab Republic has not yet been published, therefore no indication can be given of any changes made since the draft constitution was first published in Peace News in 1956.

Answered with bombs

ON Thursday last week M. Habib Bourguiba, who since Tunisia achieved its independence has struggled in very difficult circumstances to maintain and develop a relationship of friendly co-operation with France, made a speech in which he sought to diminish the bad feeling that had arisen following the French accusations about the recent skirmish near the Tunisian border in which the French troops met with defeat at the hands of the Algerians.

What M. Bourguiba was particularly concerned about was the consequence for the people of North Africa of the foundation of the United Arab Republic. The FLN, it may be mentioned, has already shifted its headquarters to Cairo. "If the Algerian people despair of the West," said M. Bourguiba, "and permit themselves to be attracted by Arab independence, which has already swept along the peoples disappointed in the West, and counting henceforward on Russia, there are chances that all Africa may follow this movement."

The French hotheads in Algeria have quickly given him his answer—with bombs.

What has happened will obviously put the whole question of the French operations in Algeria in a new perspective when the matter next comes before the Assembly.

The slaughtered children will not be brought to life, but the insensate policy of the French in North Africa will have been made plain for all to see.

Afraid of peace?

LAST WEEK we commented "If a US Government ever looks with confidence toward a peaceful world there will have to be a State of the Union address setting forth far-reaching plans to adjust the US economy to a new situation in which labour and resources represented by thousands of millions of dollars are no longer directed to war preparation."

There are some passages very relevant to this comment in the economic report made by President Eisenhower to Congress. There are over 4,000,000 workers out of employment in the US as compared with 3,400,000 in December. The President remarked that in 1958 "there are grounds for expecting that the decline in business activity need not be prolonged," and supporting this hope he said, "at the turn of the year the economy was beginning to feel the effects of an acceleration of the placement of defence contract awards."

The New York Times remarks that a National Planning Association economist had said that while Defence Department figures indicated that future spending would provide some stimulus, "it cannot be expected to bring the economy back to the track of sustained economic expansion."

Suppose, however, that the President had been in a position to say that the US Government had now become convinced that the intentions of the Russian Government were to-day pacific and there was no need to maintain the present vast preparations for war: there could be a rapid reduction of men under arms, there would be no need to spread intermediate range missiles over Europe, and there could be a drastic scaling down of armaments orders. What then?

What alternative?

IT is apparent that the President would have had to look for other reasons for optimism in regard to the prospective business trend. Where would he have found them? One finds very little indication in the American Press that this is an issue of policy that is ever likely to call for serious consideration, and none at all in the pronouncements of Government spokesmen.

Mr. Barent Meier, an American journalist who contributes a US letter to the Cambridge (UK) Daily News, is conscious of it, however. He asks: "Is the economy now so dependent on arms expenditure that a significant cut-back in defence spending would throw countless millions out of work and produce that 'hair curling' depression?"

The way he meets this enquiry is not by calling for the propounding of a plan in readiness to meet the consequences of a successful conference for the scaling down of armaments. On the contrary, Mr. Meier breathes the characteristic American sigh of



relief: "The Russian Sputniks and the reaction to them in Washington have ensured that the answer will be postponed, perhaps indefinitely."

This issue is a vital one in regard to possibilities of disarmament. It is increasingly necessary that the repeated assertions by the US Government that it is willing to consider disarmament steps, be accompanied by an indication how it proposes to utilise the labour and the resources that will

be released when less armaments are to be produced.

Crime of thinking

THE painful struggle between the moves towards democracy and freedom of expression and the drive back towards Stalinist standards continues in the Communist States of Eastern Europe. Three of East Germany's leaders have recently been

expelled from the Socialist Unity Party, the Communist-dominated single party. Their views differed from those of their chief, Herr Ulbricht.

Herr Schirdewan had advocated a policy of developing tolerance with a view to conditions of greater political freedom, and had laid himself open to the charge of having misinterpreted the implications of Mr. Khrushchev's disclosures on the Stalin régime at the Moscow Party Congress.

This might have been pardoned, says the official account of the matter, but "in his petit bourgeois megalomania, limitless arrogance, and belief in his own infallibility" he actually formed a group with others aimed at changing the policy of the Party. Among these others were Herr Woolweber, former security chief, and Herr Oelsner.

Put out of the Party, these men have been left at liberty. If it lasts, this is an advance upon what would have happened a few years back. Prevented from expressing their political views in the Party, however, these men are equally debarred from expressing them outside the Party.

In Belgrade there is also a new drive against freedom. Dr. Alexander Pavlovic and Mr. Bogden Krekik were Social Democratic leaders when their Party was permitted to exist. They still hold to the kind of doctrines that are endorsed by the British Labour Party, and in Yugoslavia this is a crime to be punished by years of imprisonment. At 73 years of age Dr. Pavlovic has been sent to prison for 8½ years, while at 70 Mr. Krekik has been sent to prison for seven years. A Dr. Zujovic receives a sentence of four years.

There is one redeeming feature that we have been able to observe about this contemptible totalitarian manifestation of tyrannous power. The defence lawyers challenged the competence of the Court to try these three old men merely for holding Social Democratic ideas. Their protest was, of course, not upheld, but it is something under single-party totalitarianism that there were found advocates who were ready to make it.

War criminals

WE have always held that what happened in Nuremberg in 1946 was a reason for shame in which Britain shares. The men who were put on trial had been responsible for great evil, but they were not arraigned as part of a process of justice but as a consequence of victory.

A genuine "International War Crimes Tribunal" would not be concerned with the actions of the defeated only, and there were many things done by the victors that could with equal appropriateness have been submitted to the examination of an impartial court. It maybe, for instance, that an impartial international court would not have condemned as criminals those who were responsible for Hiroshima and Nagasaki and "obliteration bombing," but it can hardly be claimed that an indictment on these matters could not have been framed that was worthy of examination.

We honour Mr. Willi Frischauer—"the first anti-Nazi reporter"—for the letter he has sent to the Manchester Guardian. Three men, Hess, Speer and Schirach, have now been prisoners in Spandau for 12 years. Mr. Frischauer says that he has been informed that the minds of Speer and Schirach are almost completely blank, and they are beyond caring or wanting, or hoping for, release; although their health "is being preserved with almost sadistic thoroughness so that they should not miss the full impact of their punishment for a single day."

The mental condition of Hess is apparently a great deal worse. The conditions in which they are kept are much more destructive of the human spirit than normal criminal prison conditions.

Mr. Frischauer remarks that a decree of Schirach was responsible for the death of his parents, but he goes on to say that "revenge has no place in civilised justice." Neither should psychological torture be applied as punishment for physical violence. He asks for a British initiative to obtain their release.

Sir Hartley Shawcross has always held that the work he was engaged upon at Nuremberg was helping an important advance in international morality. We should like to see a word from him upon Mr. Frischauer's proposal.

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THE CLASH OF CREEDS

MR. DULLES' REPLY to Earl Russell's letter to Mr. Krushchov and President Eisenhower in the New Statesman is important because in it he sets out considerations he views as fundamental.

If Mr. Dulles' opinions represent a permanent factor in the American outlook, there can be only a very dark future—if any future at all—for the human race.

Earl Russell had urged that neither the West nor the East need abandon its creed. "It is only necessary that it should abandon the attempt to spread its own creed by force of arms." This cannot be, urges Mr. Dulles. The creed of the United States is expressed in the American Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The creed of Communism, Mr. Dulles maintains, is expressed thus: MARX: "The proletariat by means of revolution makes itself the ruling class." LENIN: The dictatorship of the proletariat means "unlimited power based on force and not on law." STALIN: The ruling bourgeois classes "can only be removed by the conscious action of the new classes, by forcible acts of these classes by revolution."

All these dicta were seen by the three writers as derived from the nature of capitalism: capitalism represented a completely non-moral class domination, would resort to any means to maintain itself in power and only by an equally ruthless resort to similar means could this class domination be abolished.



THIS TERRIBLE ERROR has had disastrous results for mankind.

Mr. Dulles' silence on this point in part justifies the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the amorality of the interests he serves.

If these quotations, however, are taken at their face value, what conclusion are we asked to draw?

That there can only be peace when the Russian leaders renounce these doctrines, and "renounce dependence upon force and violence"—just like the nations of the West, particularly the United States, have done!

Many statements by the Communist leaders in recent years can be interpreted as implied renunciation of the doctrine of an inevitable resort to force, if we desire so to interpret them. For example, Tass news agency has now, with a specific reference to Mr. Dulles' charge that Russia desires to propagate the Communist doctrine by force, described the statement as a calumny on the Soviet Union and the politics of its Government.

Even at last October's Moscow meeting where, as Mr. Dulles remarks, the Communist parties rededicated themselves to world revolution, they also clearly declared the changes sought did not inevitably demand a resort to force.

These apparently are not "disavowals" in Mr. Dulles' eyes and perhaps he is right. But if he looked back over his own history he would realise politicians do not easily say, "I have been wrong." The exposure of the evils of Stalinism made at the 20th Russian Communist Congress—which Mr. Dulles registers AGAINST the Russian Government—comes nearer to this than anything in the recent history of any of the Western States.



WE WISH IT were otherwise, and that, for instance, some prominent statesman responsible for the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki would stand up and say, "I have sinned terribly, and I am profoundly repentant." This would be a new and redeeming influence in the world.

We shall not see it, however, and Mr. Dulles really cannot expect Russian statesmen to make that kind of admission.

There are occasional indications that the Communist statesmen today see some of the errors and inhumanities of their past doctrines, and are trying to change direction.

Our hope that this is happening may be characterised as "wishful thinking," but it is the kind of wishful thinking that should have a big influence on Western policy today. On whether it is true, or can be made true, depends not only the chance for freedom for the Eastern Europeans, but also for ANY future for humanity.

Western policy should be directed to nurturing and helping this trend in its first difficult stages. The Rapacki proposals are here important. The West should be ready to be not too exacting about equity in this type of "defence" deal if the proposals may be a second step towards Polish freedom.

The prospects for a successful policy for the freeing of Europe depend upon the rejection of Mr. Dulles' attitude as outdated.

LETTERS

Mental hospitals

DR. McCULLEY'S attitude (P.N. Feb. 7) is, I believe, representative of some, at least, of the authorities of mental hospitals. I cannot fully illustrate what I said in my letter (P.N. Jan. 24) because it would be out of place, but I can quote several practices which are still extant:

1. The "rapping" of the nurses' bunch of keys on a patient's head and rattling them beside their ears.
2. The pulling of patients along the floor by their hair.
3. The detention of patients in the open in mid-winter without overcoat, gloves or cap and with an open-neck shirt or cotton dress with a light coat.
4. The deliberate "winding" of patients who are aggressive or have misbehaved.

Perhaps Dr. McCulley is unaware of this. I can only commend to readers Warr's book "Brother Lunatic" to gain some insight into conditions and specific examples of treatment of patients. A national daily newspaper office was inundated with letters in support of Paul Warr when his book was reviewed and commented upon.

Much has been done to improve conditions especially of the admission wards and patients with an acute disease, but it is particularly amongst the chronic patients that much needs to be done—patients some of whom, through their mental state, are unable to complain but who are still human beings.

A large percentage of the nursing staff in mental hospitals belong to the old days (before modern treatments were discovered) and many imagine themselves to be still in the "days of old."

That is why young men and women, especially pacifists with a sense of vocation, are urgently needed to-day in our hospitals.

DAVID SHARPE, RMN, Four Gables, Forest Road, Narborough, Leicestershire.

Political broadcasts

MANY of us pacifists who have long since despaired of the Conservative, Labour and Communist Parties as means of carrying out pacifist policies, have had a sneaking sympathy for the Liberal Party.

Now in the course of a statement on TV election broadcasts the Liberal Party Treasurer (Philip Fothergill) shows that, like the other established parties, Liberals fear the truth and want programmes weighted in their favour against independence and such small parties as the Independent Labour Party and the Fellowship, Christian, and Commonwealth Parties.

How else can one interpret his statement: "How far one would go to grant equality to freak candidates, who had no measure of public support, is still open to question?"

In 1900 Labour candidates were "freaks." Today in some areas Liberals are "freaks." An abusive phrase, it only means candidates whose views one strongly dislikes. How can public support for such candidates be tested if they are not allowed equal chances in the press, on radio and on TV as respectable candidates?

Some of us still believe with Milton that in fair discussion truth will triumph.—PETER LANGHART, London, N.21.

C.O. memorial

HAROLD BING'S letter concerning the conscientious objectors' memorial tablet caused me to wonder how many of your readers have seen the strictly unofficial memorial to the CO group who worked on the Newhaven-Seaford road during 1916.

To permit widening of the bend as the road joins the Seaford coast road, the wall of the garden was demolished and rebuilt further back. The men who built the new wall used selected black flints to set in the middle of it the letters: "COs 1916."

One of those who did the job, Ben Wallace, died shortly afterwards.

It is over twenty years since I last saw the place of so many memories.—PERCY GWYNNE DAVIES, Abergele Road, Old Colwyn, North Wales.

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m. Sunday February 23
32 Tavistock Square, Euston
Discourse by S. E. Parker
"Why I am an Anarchist"

LET THE CYPRIOTS DECIDE

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

That attitude evoked the extended violence of EOKA.

Then the claim of the Greek Cypriots for union with Greece frightened Turkey, and Dr. Kutchuk began to fan to flame Turkish racial feelings in Cyprus. British policy since has wavered between some form of self-government, with self-determination in the distance, and partition. All the time, there has been repression under military rule, and antagonisms have grown.

When Sir Hugh Foot took over, a peaceful solution seemed impossible, but his positive friendship worked wonders. Now all the advantage of this is disappearing with the intrigues of the British Government and the disillusionment it has brought.

The great mistake has been to treat the problem of Cyprus as though it were primarily a matter for the Governments of Turkey and of Greece rather than for the people in Cyprus itself. The people of the island have the right to decide their own future.

The fact that 80 per cent of them are of Greek origin and eighteen per cent of Turkish origin ought not to mean that external governments should decide their fate.

The fact that Cyprus is near the Turkish coast is a reason for the provision of safeguards under international authority in order to prevent the island from ever being used as a jumping-off ground for a military attack on Turkey; but this does not give Turkey any more than Greece the right to decide the future of Cyprus. The first thing to find out is the desire of the people. After that, steps should be taken to meet the anxieties of Turkey.

The truth is that the problem of Cyprus has been bedevilled from the beginning by military considerations and by the background of the cold war. This was not only the reason for refusing self-determination to Cyprus in the first instance. It is the reason why the British Government is still denying self-determination and paying so much regard to the demands of Turkey.

Turkey is the key to Western armed preparations in the Middle East.

It was appropriate that the discussions about Cyprus should take place in Ankara at the time of the meeting of the Baghdad Powers. Cyprus is being sacrificed to the Western alliance in the Middle East.

Full independence

It may be that by the time this article is published the British Government's proposals for Cyprus will have been announced. My impression is that they will include a long period for internal self-government, with union with Greece ruled out, and defence and foreign policy remaining in British hands, to be followed by a vague promise that self-determination shall be permitted at a distant date to both Greek and Turkish populations in Cyprus.

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That would postpone Turkish fears of the union of Cyprus with Greece and would hold out the prospect of partition in the future.

Such a proposal is not likely to be acceptable to the Greek Cypriots, who are the overwhelming majority of the people of Cyprus. They would be prepared to accept a limited period of internal self-government but they will demand a fixed date for self-determination and will reject the suggestion that the Turkish minority should have the right to veto self-determination for the whole island by the proposal of partition.

Labour Party policy has been declared. Labour is pledged to introduce immediate internal self-government and to endeavour to apply self-determination within the period of Labour's next term of office.

I think the self-government immediately extended to Cyprus should in practice be full independence with the reservation only of no union with Greece before self-determination. Cyprus should have a Prime Minister and Ministers of all the Departments of State.

If Cyprus enjoyed these rights for three or five years, I do not believe that its political parties or people would be ready at the end of this time to become merely a province of Greece.

In practice the Turkish fear of "Enosis" would be removed. The minority rights of the Turks in Cyprus and the security of Turkey itself against attack could be guaranteed under international authority. This is the path to a peaceful solution.

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Kirkenes Journey 3

By Gene Sharp

MASS ARRESTS

NEW READERS BEGIN HERE: When in 1942 Quisling set up a new compulsory teachers' organisation and the compulsory Nasjonal Samling Youth Front—Norwegian counter-part of the Hitler Youth—Norway's underground resistance leaders and teachers resolved that it was time to act.

Every teacher was to write to Quisling's Education Department declaring that on grounds of conscience he could not regard himself as a member of the new organisation.

All the letters were to be posted on Feb. 20, 1942.

OF the 12,000 teachers in Norway, between 8,000 and 10,000 responded to the call and wrote to Quisling's Education Department dissociating themselves from his new teachers' organisation.

"If there had been even as many as 4,000 or 5,000," said Mr. Holmboe, "we should have regarded the action as a success." He added that it was "very, very moving to see the reaction."

"When the demonstration succeeded it gave us a pleasant feeling that so many

The story of the Norwegian teachers' successful non-violent resistance under Nazi occupation

people had the courage to stand up. It gave us a feeling of not being alone, a feeling of strength.

"It was a matter of conscience," he continued. "We just couldn't do those things. We could not have looked into the faces of family and friends if we had not made this protest."

Other professional groups were also conducting their own protests. The Bishops of the State Church who had already protested about the Nasjonal Samling Youth Front resigned their official posts on February 24, while retaining their spiritual duties. (The non-violent resistance by Norway's Churchmen is another saga that deserves to be told.)

On the same day 150 university professors also protested against the N.S. Youth Front.

Government tactics

On Feb. 25 the authorities announced that the teachers' protest would be regarded as official resignations of their appointments and if they persisted they would be fined.

The same day the Education Department announced that all schools would be closed for a month "for lack of fuel."

The falsity of this excuse was obvious. Wood is a usual fuel in Norway, and the forests stretch almost the whole length of the country. Further, the weather had become mild after a severe cold spell.

The Quisling Government, Mr. Holmboe explained, was "panic-stricken." By closing the schools and thus dispersing the teachers it hoped to weaken their solidarity and break their resistance.

From all over the country came offers of fuel to keep the schools open.

Actually the "fuel holiday" proved to be the means of spreading the news of what had happened, for the official newspapers had published nothing about the teachers' resistance. People began asking why the schools had really closed. The facts got around.

Financing rebellion

The Leader of Quisling's new teachers' organisation then announced that in such and such districts 100 per cent. of the teachers had become members. But many knew these were isolated school districts which had only one or two teachers.

On March 7 the official newspapers announced that 300 teachers would be called to do "some kind of social work in the north of Norway."

March 15 was set as the deadline for compliance, and resisting teachers were threatened with loss of jobs, pay and pensions. The official newspapers finally referred to the protest, while playing it down as much as possible, but the warnings were issued only in circulars from the Education Department addressed to the teachers.

In response to this threat, preparations were made for financial difficulties teachers and their families might face. Most of them had already been contributing two per cent. of their incomes for financing the resistance. Other people now joined this plan.

Mr. Holmboe received Kr. 20,000 (about £1,000) from a resistance contact for teachers in his district. He is still uncertain of its origin, but thinks it came from the Government-in-exile.

No one asked for or expected receipts. During the occupation "the trust between people was amazing."

During the "fuel holiday" teachers began teaching in private homes to show their willingness to do their job.

Letters of protest

Tens of thousands of letters of protest from parents, and some from others, were posted on March 6 to the Education Department. This move was probably organised by the resistance leaders. Reliable figures are not available, but probably somewhat less than ten per cent. of all the parents of pupils in the country took part.

Heavily burdened, but smiling, postmen carried bag after bag of protest letters to Quisling's Education Department. By signing their own names, Mr. Holmboe said, the parents made a personal contribution and became "committed to resistance."

March 15—the deadline for compliance—came and went. The teachers remained defiant.

On March 20 and the few days following about 1,000 teachers were arrested. There were no women among them. The arrests did not terrorise the people.

The policeman who came to arrest Mr. Holmboe was an ordinary Norwegian policeman, not a member of Quisling's party. He was "very decent" and waited



Several of the 20 teachers held immediately after their arrests at the local prison at Hamar are seen during an "airing" in the prison yard.

an hour for Mr. Holmboe to make preparations.

Whether or not ordinary Norwegian policemen ought to have carried out such orders for arrests and other instructions from the Quisling government has been often discussed since.

The selection of teachers for arrest appeared haphazard. The authorities did not always arrest those whom they feared most. Apparently, they thought the weaker ones would be easier to break down, and therefore some should be included in the arrests.

What Quisling's régime most wanted was

to compel the teachers to abandon their resistance publicly.

It was often left to the police to decide whom to arrest. And where the police were not Nasjonal Samling members, they sometimes consulted the teachers first.

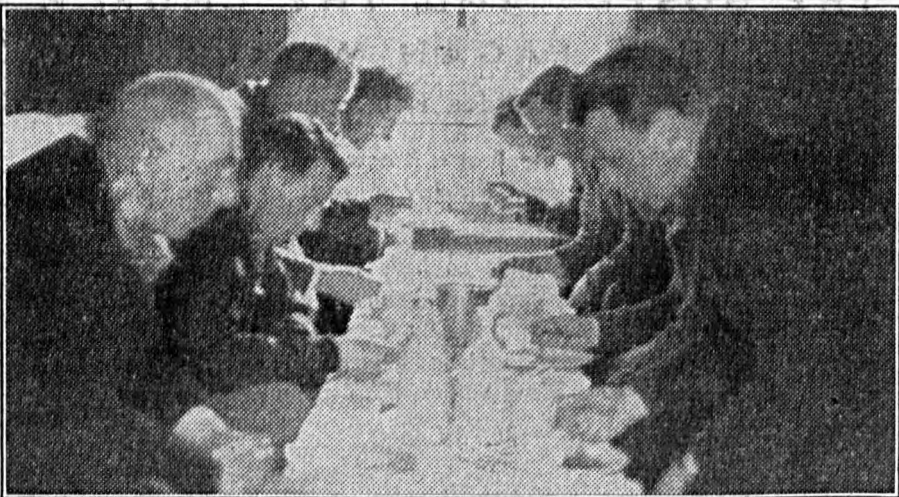
In one school the police telephoned the principal to say they had orders to arrest eight teachers. The teachers held a meeting to decide who should go, considering such factors as age, health and dependants. Then the principal telephoned their names to the police.

After the arrests, the clergy made a statement in the churches at Easter about the

● ON BACK PAGE

THE MONTGOMERY STORY

Under the leadership of Baptist minister, Martin Luther King, the Negroes of the city of Montgomery, Alabama, decided to boycott the buses until they were shown greater respect during travel.



Meal-time for the teachers imprisoned at Hamar. The teacher at front left was nearly 60 years old. Mr. Holmboe is nearest the window on the right.

Prepared by the Al Capp Organisation for the US Fellowship of Reconciliation. The complete story in booklet form is being distributed at 10 cents each in the USA: Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

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COURAGE IS LIFE

Michael Randle reviews

Leopard In My Lap, by Michaela Dennis. Londn, Beacon Books, 2s. 6d.

"WE set out from the first to make a break with the old approach of the white man to the wild and its inhabitants," writes Michaela Dennis in "Leopard In My Lap."

She and her husband, Armand, have become world famous for their films of primitive people and wild life. In this book she tells something of their adventures and experiences together.

Their first journey was in South America. On the day of their marriage, which took place in Bolivia, a revolution broke out and they were arrested on their way to the Argentinian border.

"They (the armed guards) were shaking with excitement and fear. As soon as we reached the barrier one of them thrust a gun through the open window. Its muzzle waggled against my shoulder... I instinctively behaved as I would when dealing with a nervous wild animal that could be dangerous. I caught hold of the barrel and very slowly and gently pushed it away. The soldier made no attempt to resist my action."

They were interned for the night but were released the following day, and, after further adventures when they fell into the hands of the rebels, reached Argentina.

But it was in Africa that they found their real home, and much of the book deals with their many safaris in Kenya, Uganda and the Belgian Congo. They approached the primitive tribes with humility and respect and everywhere they were accepted and loved; often they were initiated into the tribe. More important, they felt that primitive Africa had something important to teach the highly industrialised nations, and they derived deep spiritual benefit from their experiences. Michaela tells how she took part in a special initiation dance—the only European ever to do so—and comments afterwards:

"It may seem ridiculous to many that initiation with a group of African women can have any special significance, but from it I have drawn proof of a transcendent reality behind the harsh and contemptuous face of the world. A few African women? But I believe that their faith and approach to the power and finally the acquisition of it is part of a universal striving towards comprehending life in all its beauty and truth. They are one in spirit with the most noble and enlightened men and women who have ever lived."

After Africa they went on to New Guinea and then to North Australia, where they got on intimate terms with the aborigines, perhaps the most primitive people left on earth. But it was to Africa that they finally returned to make a home.

In the last chapter Michaela gives a summary of her own philosophy—a deep faith in the power of fearlessness and love. It is a faith that has stood the test of incredible difficulties and dangers and indeed has been strengthened by them. She writes:

"The full meaning of tolerance can hardly be grasped unless one has been thrown into circumstances that normally do not arise in the great civilised centres, where the sanctions of law too often take the place of understanding between man and man."

"I have slept with a snake without knowing it, and no harm has come to me; but if I had been conscious of its presence and shown resentment and fear there might have been a very different story to tell. If I had known that the snake was in my bed I hope I should have had enough sense to tolerate its presence, knowing that intolerance might well have led to disaster."

She urges the statesmen of the world to abandon their timid reliance on arms:

"If they walked fearlessly into the jungle of international politics as Armand and I have entered African forests, they would not think of killing one another... without guns they would not go a-hunting; a higher purpose would emerge from their adventure."

She condemns the violence and mania for

domination and destruction that has been all too frequent in the course of history, but she feels that the world may at last be moving into a more humane phase.

"Yet there are dangers everywhere," she concludes—"dangers to be met and overcome before peace is established in the heart."

"If I were asked to express my philosophy in a few words I should say: Courage is life. Fear and be slain."

Explaining the new regime

Leonard Tomkinson reviews

Changing China, by Michael Shapiro. Londn, Lawrence & Wishart, 15s.

GANDHI gave the title "Experiments in Truth" to his autobiography. I am sometimes inclined to feel that this would describe the stream of books issuing from the Press on the new China, though not quite in Gandhi's sense.

Not that I wish to impugn in all cases the honesty of intention of the authors, but the whole truth and nothing but the truth

about so immense and complicated a subject is beyond the capacity of any writer.

In this case the author frankly states that it is his intention to "explain rather than to describe." His explanation never wanders from the Party line and makes a good deal of use of the rather tiresome Party jargon. It is for practical purposes the official view of things, but that in itself should not be without interest.

The author takes Stalin very seriously as an economic theorist, but what Mao says is the final word. He says in one place that "There is no blind reliance on Soviet blueprints. These are adapted and changed where necessary. And if a Chinese method of building, with a dash of ingenuity thrown in, will serve as well, it will be tried out." This principle seems to be of wide application.

At least this book is not based on a visit of a few weeks only. The author has lived and worked in China for some eight years. He does not, however, seem to have lived in China before the establishment of the present régime and therefore has no really firm standard by which to compute changes. In some respects his pictures of the comparatively recent past are almost as mythological as the traditional accounts of the "Sage Kings," 3,000 or more years earlier. Yet that does not really detract too much from the value of his account of what has been taking place during his time in the country.

The book is far from being all explanation. It contains masses of statistics worked into his text in an interesting manner. In the nature of the case these must come from official sources and not mainly from his own observation, but they are probably reasonably reliable. I may mention that I am inclined to take his estimates of the numbers of opponents of the régime put to death as probably near the truth. I feel I should thank him for his definition of "voluntary" as "meaning, of course, bowing to the inevitable."

The book is clearly intended primarily for the true believer, but it should not be overlooked by the sceptical and critical, yet open-minded, seeker for truth.

BOOKS

DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to: 1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m. 2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, February 14
LONDON Local Tribunal for COs. Fulham Town Hall (opposite Fulham Broadway Underground Station). Morning 10.30 a.m. Afternoon 1.15 p.m. Public admitted.

Saturday, February 15
LONDON, S.W.1: 2.30 p.m.; Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd. Joyce Butler, MP, Leslie Hale, MP. Subject: "Which Road to Disarmament." Adm. by ticket 6d. from Denis Brian, 24a Breakspears Rd., S.E.4 (s.a.e. please). Members of Labour Party and affiliated organisations only. Labour Peace Fellowship.

Sunday, February 16
MANCHESTER: One day conference commencing 1 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Mount Street. Speaker: Frederick G. Barton (Manchester). "The Christian Conscientious Objections to Conscription." Soc. of Friends, Lancs and Cheshire Quarterly Mtg. Peace Committee.

Monday, February 17
LONDON Appellate Tribunal for COs. Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Rd., Victoria, S.W.1. Morning 10.30 a.m. Afternoon 2.15 p.m. Public admitted.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Dundonald Drive, near Leigh. Subject: Disarmament. "Facing the Consequences," including film "Walk to Freedom." FoR.

WESTMINSTER: 7.30 p.m.; Central Hall. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—mass meeting. Speakers: Michael Foot, Sir Stephen King-Hall, J. B. Priestley, Earl Russell, A. J. P. Taylor. Chairman: 1. John Collins. Tickets 6d. from Mrs. Peggy Duff, 146 Fleet Street, E.C.4. Please enclose s.a.e.

Tuesday, February 18
LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Queens Road. Free film show: "Working Agreement." Chairman: Alderman B. Powell. Speakers: Harold Rang, Douglas Lincoln. Leicestershire Group, International Voluntary Service. Sec.: John Lynes, 101 Lonsdale Road, Thurmaston, Leicester.

Wednesday, February 19
BRISTOL: 7 p.m. at Lilian Dunning's, 20 Glenwood Road, Henleaze (off Lake Rd.). Speaker: Stuart Morris, Gen. Sec., PPU, addressing Bristol Central PPU Group.

CAMBRIDGE: 8.30 p.m.; Will Lane Lecture Rooms. Open Meeting. Speaker: Rev. Michael Scott, "South Africa as a World Problem." FoR.

Thursday, February 20
GLOUCESTER: 7 p.m.; Unitarian Chapel Room, Barton St. (opposite Co-op Corner). International Affairs Brains Trust and Open Forum "The H-bomb and You." Panel: Stuart Morris, Harry Franklin, Louis Cornallie, Norman Gillett. Gloucester PPU. **LEYTONSTONE, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. Speaker: Bill Gotch "Travels in Europe." E.10 and E.11 PPU.

Friday, February 21
BOWES PARK: 8 p.m.; Bowes Park Methodist Church, Bowes Road, Londn, N.13. Speaker: Eric Siv (Soc. of Friends). "Christianity, Politics and Power." Methodist Peace Fellowship.

ILKLEY: Wells Road Assembly Hall. Film Conference: "Shadow of Hiroshima" and "Walk to Freedom." Speakers: John Rex and John A. Kay. UNA in co-operation with the Soc. of Friends (Sec.: C. Daugherty, 7 Princess Rd., Ilkley).

Saturday, February 22
LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane. Violin and piano recital by Arthur and Winifred Percival. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square. Speaker: Dorothy Case, "Coloured Children in a London Day-Nursery." Education Commission, PPU.

Sunday, February 23
LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse: S. E. Parker "Why I am an Anarchist."

Monday, February 24
EDINBURGH: 7.45 p.m. Usher Hall. Public Meeting. "Nuclear Threat and Scotland." Speakers include Rt. Rev. Dr. George F. MacLeod, Prof. M. Stewart, 12 Dean Park Cres., Edinburgh. Phone: DEa 1592.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 p.m. 47 Witley Court, Woburn Place (opp. Royal Hotel). Discussion on New Programme and dates for resumption of regular meetings. Central London PPU Group. Refreshments.

Wednesday, February 26
LONDON, W.1: 6.30 p.m.; Indian Students' Union and Hostel, 41 Fitzroy Square. "Peace Forum." Questions and discussions. Buffet tea before meeting.

Thursday, February 27
BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m.; 25 Vernon Terrace, Seven Dials. Speaker: Mrs. Evelyn Peat, "The Work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom." PPU Group.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. E.10 and E.11 PPU. **LIVERPOOL:** 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Group Study. Leader Freda Collins. "Non-Violence." PPU.

Friday, February 28
LONDON Local Tribunal for COs. Fulham Town Hall (opposite Fulham Broadway Underground Station). Morning 10.30 a.m. Afternoon 1.15 p.m. Public admitted.

LONDON, N.10: 7.45 p.m.; 80 Muswell Hill Road. Annual General Meeting, North London Action Council for War on Want.

Every week!

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., Londn, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU. **LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Sellings.

Reject this Bill for Central Africa

Peace News Reporter

THE British Government has been asked to reject the Federal Electoral Bill for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

This Bill combined with the new Constitution Amendment Act alters the system of electing new African members of the Federal Assembly from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. This results in "a lessening in African influence in the election of their own members and of the House as a whole..."

This plea was made recently by The Rev. Andrew Doig (a nominated Member for Nyasaland African Interests in the Federal Parliament), in London on behalf of the African Affairs Board of the Federation. The Bill is expected to be debated in the House of Commons soon.

Speaking at a Press Conference sponsored by the Africa Bureau, Mr. Doig said that there was never any intention or thought when the Federation was created of changing the method of electing the African Members for Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia until the constitutional review conference.

The Bill would allow Europeans to help elect African representatives—with the aim of electing "moderate Africans"—while doing nothing to help elect "moderate Europeans."

As the Africans selected for the African Affairs Board under this scheme would be likely to be those elected by predominantly European voters, African confidence in the Board would be likely to suffer still more.

He suggested that the reasons why the Bill was being put forward now were:

(1) That the Europeans were "tired of listening to criticisms of Africans from Nyasaland" who are against Federation, and

(2) That with the likelihood of a closer division of parties in the Federal House as a result of the growth of the Dominion Party, the Europeans wanted the Africans who would then hold the balance of power to be more moderate and to be divided by political parties.

This Bill, he said, was "a very dangerous step to take." It was contributing to "building up to an impossible situation for the [constitutional review] conference, and Africans may get to the stage when they say constitutional means are not enough."

The first reaction if the Bill became law, would be for the Africans to boycott the elections under the new provisions lest it be said they had accepted the measure.

Kirkenes Journey

relationship between parents and their children and nearly all resigned.

Mr. Holmboe spent over a week in the local prison at Hamar with about 20 other teachers, eight of whom were from his own school. The rektor (principal) had also been arrested.

The approximately 650 teachers arrested in southern and western Norway were then transferred from local prisons to Grini concentration camp.

Throughout their detention the teachers' families received "from somewhere" the equivalent of their former salaries.

In face of an ultimatum at the camp three teachers gave in. The rest stood firm.

Four days later came another warning: Unless they withdrew their protests, in future they would receive no professional positions, but instead would become part of a labour force.

The German commander of Grini concentration camp, *Sturmbannführer* (SS Commander) Koch, was nicknamed by the prisoners *Stornifysten*—"the tempestuous prince." He always carried a whip and was accompanied by a large dog.

On one occasion the teachers received an expression of sympathy from an unexpected quarter, following an harangue by Koch which concluded with the words:

"You must not think you will be martyrs, or that a few dirty teachers will be able to stop the New Order for Europe!"

At that point the dog vomited.

Next week: Nazi Camp Treatment.

Nuclear disarmament

★ FROM PAGE ONE

at all, will look back at us and say 'You failed,'" concluded Professor Coulson.

University plans

Oxford undergraduates are holding their own campaign in the sixth week of term. They had hoped to hold a public meeting in the Oxford Town Hall, but this project was cancelled on the advice of the Proctors.

The meeting will, however, be held under the auspices of the National Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and J. B. Priestley, Alex Comfort, Victor Gollancz, Philip Toynbee and John Berger will be the speakers.

The undergraduates have managed to gain control of the sixth week issue of the university magazine "Isis," and this issue will be devoted to articles on the theme of disarmament and nuclear warfare, with contributions from a number of distinguished writers.

Where to hear Priestley

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have announced the following meetings at which J. B. Priestley will be among the speakers:

Ipswich, Feb. 23;

Cambridge, Monday, Feb. 24 (in the Union, with Canon Collins);

Norwich, Tuesday, Feb. 25 (with David Ennals of UNA);

Oxford, Tuesday, March 4 (announced above);

Reading, Wednesday, March 5 (in Town Hall).

March to Aldermaston

□ FROM PAGE ONE

the route," the organising secretary of the Direct Action Committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Miss Pat Arrowsmith, told Peace News on Tuesday.

"We need offers of help with the booking of halls for over-night accommodation and public meetings at Hounslow, Maidenhead, and Reading, offers of vans and lorries to carry and store equipment.

"Money and offers to join in the march are coming in.

"Frank Allaun, MP, has already told the committee that he has cancelled his Easter holiday arrangements in order to come with us."

Marchers going all the way are asked to bring their own food, a mug and a sleeping bag.

Assisting Pat Arrowsmith in the planning are Laurence Brown and Michael Randle, who played a leading part in organising demonstrations some years ago for the Non-violent Resistance Group.

The Direct Action Committee will welcome information from groups and individuals preparing to march to Aldermaston at Easter from other parts of England.

Because of lack of office space the Direct Action Committee's organising activities are being carried on temporarily from 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Other inquiries concerning nuclear disarmament should be made to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 146 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Work camps exhibition

On Saturday, Feb. 22, the Friends Meeting, UNA, and International Voluntary Service in Brighton are joining forces to present an exhibition (3 p.m.) and film show (7.30 p.m.) at the Friends Centre in Ship Street.

In Peace News next week

... A full report of the Central Hall Meeting

... "The Impact of the Newspaper Ads." A first analysis of the US newspaper campaign against H-bomb tests organised by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

... "Disarmament and Peace in British Politics." A book review by Roy Sherwood.

... Leslie Hale, MP, writes on Non-violent Resistance.

... The latest news of peace activities around the world.

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By Sybil Morrison

Challenge of our times

I understand that many pacifists think that the possibility of invasion if nuclear weapons were to be unilaterally abandoned is a hypothetical question, and that getting rid of nuclear armaments might in fact be a way of saving Britain from enemy occupation. I should be very glad to know what you think?—Letter from correspondent. —February 10, 1958.

THE dread of invasion and occupation by Russia is far too real in the minds of the majority to be treated by anyone, let alone by pacifists, as hypothetical.

Yet, there is one point which is consistently overlooked by those who fear Russia, and that is the improbability of Russia having any need to occupy this country unless there were a war.

Nevertheless, the fear remains; and those who advocate getting rid only of nuclear weapons must face the fact that so long as the two great powers, the USA and the USSR, continue to hold them, there might well be danger of either one or the other deciding that occupation of Britain was essential to their military strategy.

In which case, any resistance by Britain with the "conventional" weapons that she retained, could very easily precipitate the nuclear war which everyone dreads.

It would, of course, be entirely different, if it were known that there were no longer any "conventional" weapons, nor any men and women under arms in this country.

Russia, so obviously anxious to convince the world of her own peaceful intentions,

Minnie Pallister of the BBC 'Woman's Hour' visits

RUGBY IN A BLIZZARD

I HAD always thought of Rugby as a warm and sheltered place, very historic and charming, and also it is one of the towns in which a dear friend lives, and that always surrounds a town with a sort of aura.

Having been off the map for two months, I felt very jittery about going to Rugby for a meeting arranged by the Peace Pledge Union Group, but when I saw the lovely posters, which they had spread all over the town (the Rugby PPU seems to have stolen the true blue Tory colour; it's a lovely blue and I always grudged it to the Tories), and when I heard they had invited 500 likely sympathisers personally, I felt I must go if it was the last thing I did. I couldn't let secretary Mary Wilkins down.

Just as I was starting, snow started too. When I got to Rugby it was a blizzard. The chairman of the Group, Raymond Rowse, wasn't there, but the chairman of the meeting (Councillor W. A. Manning, JP) was, and impossible as it seemed there was a meeting, people had braved the snow. The chairman arrived after I had spoken; he is a farmer living ten miles out. His car had broken down after two miles, he had walked through the snow for four miles, then got a bus.

Snow had drifted in heaps and was still falling when we came out after a lively meeting with plenty of questions. After coffee at Mary's house, she drove the chairman and his family out to his farm, and much to my relief returned all in one piece before midnight. Rugby still has a long way to go before it's a pacifist stronghold, but with a chairman who will tramp four miles through a blizzard to get to a meeting and a secretary who will turn out in a blizzard to drive a stranded family ten miles home, there's no limit to what a PPU Group can achieve. They certainly deserve success; they had spared no pains.

A member had given 100 copies of Peace News for free distribution, there was a literature stall, the hall was good, in fact, like the Coronation of the Queen, everything was perfect except the weather!

Acts of terrorism—including torture and murders—against opponents of the Batista dictatorship in Cuba and suspension of constitutional guarantees against "disappearances and arbitrary arrests" and of habeas corpus have been recently reported.

might find an unarmed Britain a rather awkward problem. An outright and totally unprovoked attack upon a completely defenceless population, would certainly ruin all hope of convincing the world of Russia's sincere desire to live at peace, and to co-exist with the West.

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that if there were total unilateral disarmament by this country a revolutionary change would have taken place in the whole motive behind our foreign policy, and it could certainly no longer be maintained that Britain, was, in any way, threatening either Russia, or the peace of the world.

If, in spite of these facts, Britain were occupied, the pacifist would advocate passive resistance to any evil or tyrannical methods by the occupier. Naturally, this not only requires great courage and fortitude, it also requires training in the methods of non-violent resistance, and above all, it requires strong moral conviction.

Though it is natural for ordinary people to stand aghast at the total destructiveness of the new weapons, it needs to be faced that they are the logical consequence of the high explosive.

★
When it was decided in the interests of the "unconditional surrender" policy to try for victory through mass attack upon civilian populations, the first positive step was taken on the road to the H-bomb.

When every effort was made to capture the German scientists who had brought the V1 and V2 weapons into the armoury of modern war, in order to use their brains to make "bigger and better" V weapons, the first authoritative step was taken towards the intercontinental ballistic missile.

These are the sinister and monstrous, but inevitable results of living in a world where war is still conceived as the final arbiter, and is justified on that account.

Mankind is now faced with the formidable fact that war with modern weapons may well destroy, not only cities and civilizations, but the whole human race. That man continues to palter with the idea of keeping some weapons while doing away with others, is due to an inherent inability to visualize a world without war. There is much talk of it, but the vision is lacking.

The only answer today is to do away with war. What is needed is a great new crusade, one that would appeal to the imagination and to the courage of all Britons; a crusade to demand from Britain's leaders a strong moral declaration against war itself; a ringing call to resist the evil of the H-bomb by unilateral abandonment of the whole method which gave it birth.

This is the real challenge of our times; a challenge to conscience and a challenge to courage. It is still not too late to accept it with the confidence and certainty of rational as well as moral conviction.

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